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1. Previous research

In spite of their physical proximity, similar era of development as Pittsburgh suburbs and joint inclusion in the Orthodox Jewish "eruv,"[1] the communities of Squirrel Hill and Greenfield are very different. The study of the two areas serves to highlight their historical, economic and cultural differences.

A survey of the literature offers the first disparity: little research has been done about Greenfield and it is rarely mentioned in Pittsburgh histories or guidebooks. Squirrel Hill, on the other hand, is the subject of several books and is almost always noted in references to Pittsburgh as the best example of a thriving, upper-income, urban residential community.

The Jewish community, purported to include between 40% and 50% of the residents of Squirrel Hill, has probably been the most important factor in the extensive record made of the community's history and culture. Tradition, scholarship and knowledge are highly valued in the Jewish community and most of the work about Squirrel Hill focuses on the Jews who live there, both secular and religious. The Pittsburgh section of the National Council of Jewish Women put together an excellent sourcebook of oral histories, My Voice Was Heard, edited by Ida Cohen Selavan. Sara Rosenblum's Neighbors, You're Beautiful includes a number of non-Jews in her profiles of Squirrel Hill residents. A primary text on the history of Jews in this region is Jacob Feldman's The Jewish Experience in Western Pennsylvania: A History 1755-1945. Franklin Toker's Pittsburgh, An Urban Portrait offers a useful insight into the development of the community and its outstanding buildings. Updating earlier publications on the Jewish community is Jewish Life, A Complete Resource Guide of the Pittsburgh Jewish Community published in 1991 by The Jewish Chronicle. Barbara Burstin's After the Holocaust: The Migration of Polish Jews and Christians to Pittsburgh and Katherine Ruttenberg's Kitty - An Uncommon Memoir of a Non-

[1]An "eruv" is a symbolic wall around a designated "fortress" area where it is safe to live and worship. In Pittsburgh, the area is designated by an unbroken wire that surrounds the area, hung from telephone poles and indistinguishable to the untrained eye from power and phone lines. The Orthodox community designates a rabbi who checks the eruv for breaks every Friday before sunset. The eruv committee maintains a telephone hotline for Orthodox Jews to call in and check before setting out on their way to Sabbath dinner and worship.

Celebrity provide additional insights into the history, and social and cultural life of the community. Two media projects produced about Squirrel Hill life are Sheila Chamovitz's *Murray Avenue* and Jack and Barbara Shore's *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the city's only daily newspaper, is the next important source of information about both Squirrel Hill and Greenfield. Again, it is Squirrel Hill which is written about more often; it is the larger community of the two, with more people and institutions competing for scarce land resources and making news. Taylor Allderdice High School, which serves both communities, is located in Squirrel Hill. Greenfield lacks its own branch of the Carnegie Public Library; the Squirrel Hill branch is the busiest branch library in the system with an active group of "Library Friends" which organizes a full schedule of events for writers, children and the general public.

The United States Census for 1990 is very informative and its availability on CD-ROM at the Hillman Library at the University of Pittsburgh greatly facilitates its usefulness. In Oakland, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania houses the Jewish Archives, established there in 1988. This collection has grown over the past 6 years to encompass 450 linear feet of records, diaries and photographs. The Archives of Industrial Society at Hillman Library is the repository for several of the area's Jewish organizations, although most new donations are now made to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. At The Carnegie Library's Pennsylvania Room the indexed photographic collection yields some very interesting historic images of both Squirrel Hill and Greenfield.

One informant, Michael Roman, donated a quantity of resource materials relevant to this study to the SIHC, including the Golden Jubilee Program for St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Church in Greenfield and numerous articles and memorabilia about the Carpatho-Rusin culture. Michael Roman recommends contacting Mr. Sheffo, a barber on Greenfield Avenue. He used to have lots of old photographs of the neighborhood hanging in his barbershop.

2. Fieldworker's plan and personal statement

I have made my home in Squirrel Hill since 1990 and was attracted to this neighborhood for a number of reasons, some of which impact on the design of my research for this study. After living on a

Hazelwood hillside for 13 years, I began to search for a new home which was more centrally located, out of the path of Hazelwood's LTV coke plant air pollution, and within walking distance of a good public elementary school. In the area known as "north of Forbes" I found a reasonably priced house one mile from: Linden Elementary School, the grocery store and the cultural district of Oakland. On a rare summer day, the sulphurous fumes from the coke plant over the hill will still blanket us, but it is never as bad as my old neighborhood. Our street, only three blocks long, is what I like to call the "hole in the doughnut," an oasis of reasonably priced houses surrounded on all four sides by more expensive homes, including some of the most exclusive enclaves in the city. My motives are similar to those of many who seek out Squirrel Hill: convenience, safety, good schools and real estate value which is likely to increase over time.

The cultural life of the community is a pleasant plus. The area boasts two movie theaters that show first-run features, dozens of pleasant restaurants, a number of friendly taverns, beauty shops and doctor's offices, ethnic food stores, bakeries, fresh fish, fruit and vegetables, an ice-cream parlor, six coffee shops. Despite the complaint that several of my informants made that the shopping district had been going downhill lately, Murray Avenue, in my opinion, is simply the best neighborhood shopping district in Pittsburgh and it is the only one designed for walking. There is parking available, sometimes not enough, but large numbers of people, including housewives, elderly and teen-agers, are able to get around without being dependent on a car.

By moving to Squirrel Hill I developed a new awareness of my own religious and ethnic background. My mother, the daughter of Russian immigrants, was raised Jewish, but abandoned the faith at adulthood as did her parents and most of her cousins. My father, son of an Irish-Catholic mother and a German-Lutheran father, was raised Roman Catholic, but became an atheist while in college. After their secular marriage, my parents raised us, their three children, as agnostics, occasionally attending the Unitarian Church during holidays. My brother, sister and I remain non-religious to the present. I was surprised to discover that, since my mother was Jewish, other Jews consider me to be Jewish. This actually became a problem in my fieldwork when I proposed to tape

record a "shabbat" service one Friday evening at the home of an Orthodox family. Terry Naiditch, the woman who originally invited me into her home for the services asked if I were Jewish. "Not really," I answered. When she asked what that meant, I explained my background. "Since your mother is Jewish," she explained, "You are Jewish." As a "Jew" I could not "work" on the Sabbath; if I came to observe the Sabbath with the Naiditch family I would be doing it as "fieldwork," so I could not come. After completing several interviews I realized that, in some ways, I represent the worst nightmare to the observant: the agnostic daughter of mixed religious parenthood who would not continue the faith and traditions into future generations.

With the "handicap," or perhaps advantage, of personal sensitivity to the issue of ethnic and religious continuity, I proceeded to design my fieldwork to reach as wide a group of residents of various ethnic backgrounds as I could in both Squirrel Hill and Greenfield, with a greater emphasis on the Jewish community as the dominant ethnic group in Squirrel Hill and on the Carpatho-Rusin community in Greenfield because its institutions are in serious decline at the present time.

I began with people I knew, two of whom represented different minority ethnic groups, and selected Hui Yuet Ming Eva and Satwant Kaur Mehta from among my friends and acquaintances because they represent Chinese- and Indian-Americans. Chinese and Indian are two very distinct and prominent groups within the Asian community in Squirrel Hill which, contrary to ethnic-racial proportions in Allegheny County in general, is larger than the African-American population in both areas being examined.

Personal connections led me to M.M. Castner; she is my sister's mother-in-law; I knew of her strong ties to St. Philomena's Roman Catholic parish, her Irish heritage, and her family history in the area. Other contacts were sought out from various community institutions: Brad Perelman from Pinsker's Judaica Center is a member of the Lubavitcher Center; Dee Davis is Executive Director for Senior Services at the Jewish Community Center (JCC) and was recommended by contacts I made at the United Jewish Federation; Murray Avenue shopkeeper Genny Davud-Zade[2] is a "new American"

[2]This spelling of Genny Davud-Zade's name is as it appears in the Pittsburgh telephone book, not Jenny

from the former Soviet Union; Ruth Paransky, my neighbor's mother, represents the Turtle Creek Jewish community which consolidated into Squirrel Hill a generation ago. I came across James Hahn when he was demonstrating against the Rehabilitation Institute's expansion plans; he represented an individual struggling to preserve the integrity of his neighborhood. Bill Smith works with the Greenfield Organization and provides some insight into that community. Father Joe Reschick is the priest at St. Rosalia's Catholic parish in Greenfield. Maureen McBirney was suggested by my friend Faith Schantz as someone who could talk about the area's Irish. I met Gerry Palkovitz at the Poale Zedeck Synagogue Food Fair and was then referred back to her repeatedly by a number of people in the Jewish community. Ron DeLallo's bar, the Squirrel Hill Cafe, has been a well-known and popular eatery and "watering-hole" since Prohibition years.

Michael Roman, recommended by Father Lambert of St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Church in Greenfield, was a real "find." He is the retired editor of the Greek Catholic Union Newspaper and a self-described "pack-rat" with a tremendous collection of written materials about the ethnic communities in Pittsburgh.

There are many more who should be interviewed. Several whom I made attempts to reach are: Mrs. Terry Naiditch, converted to Orthodox Judaism and now very active with Jewish education as well as raising her eight children. I attempted to reach Rabbi Eli Rothman, Rabbi Jaeger and Dr. Weisberg, but was told by their wives or secretaries that they were too busy. Congregation Beth Shalom's Cantor Moshe Taube, a holocaust survivor who worked at Oscar Schindler's factory as a teen-ager, has an interesting story to tell, although it is less about Squirrel Hill than about his own story of survival. I tried to set up an appointment with David Shtulman from the United Jewish Federation, but he recommended Ilene Potashman-Cohen instead. She had just had a baby last October when I called and was unavailable. Historian Corinne Krause was contacted, but suggested that I re-contact her when I had gotten farther along with my research.

Davud as she reported at the time of my interview with her.

I was able to speak on the phone with Reva Horn and with Linda Ehrenreich from Jewish Family and Children Services to get some information on their organization and on settlement of new immigrants in Pittsburgh. Sam Newbury, who attends the Sixth Presbyterian Church on the corner of Forbes and Murray Avenues in Squirrel Hill, did talk to me about the congregation and recommended that I interview parishioner David Miller, an historian at Carnegie Mellon University.

Gerry Palkovitz from Poale Zedeck Congregation is a tremendous source for contacts. She suggested I speak with Kenny Dairn, principal at the Lubavitch Center, also called "the Yeshiva," on Wightman Street, and with Rabbi Kletenick at Hillel Academy. She also gave me names of Rabbi Pfeffer (a scribe or "sofer" and ritual slaughterer), Rabbi Naidof ("sofer" and ritual circumciser or "mohel"), Rabbi M. Rosenberg ("mohel"). She was most helpful, suggesting the woman cantor at Tree of Life congregation, Adrian Caplowe, and Rodef Shalom's woman rabbi, Deborah Pine. To talk about the "Hevra Kadisha" or Holy Society, a group who bathe and prepare corpses for burial, Dr. Palkovitz suggested Faith Milch as a contact. Rabbi Twersky was suggested as someone to talk to about the Hassidic and Lubavitcher communities, and Sharie Maherim at the Jewish Education Institute heads up a club for Jewish and Israeli dances.

In Greenfield I found it more difficult to find resource people. At Big Jim's restaurant in "The Run" I inquired about someone who would be able to talk about the neighborhood. Waitress Darlene Grabowsky suggested Mary Anne Barnes on Alexa Street. Unfortunately, she is not listed in the phone book and I was not able to locate her. St. Joachim's Roman Catholic parish and school are closed, although a priest from St. Rosalia's does perform Sunday masses for the 150 parishioners still remaining. St. John's Chrysostom Byzantine Rite Church is still active. Father Richard Lambert has only been assigned to that parish for 2 years and recommended Michael Roman, former editor of the Greek Catholic Union. As described above, he is an excellent source.

Dee Davis suggested that I speak with Edward Ackerman of Edgewood. He takes people on tours of Jewish Pittsburgh. She also suggested two women who might know about Jewish children's games: Barbara Chotner and Nina Butler. Another contact which could be followed up is retired

businessman, Joe Rubenstein, Squirrel Hill resident and member of Rodef Shalom, whose father was a rabbi in the Hill District before World War II.

3. Community identity

SQUIRREL HILL

Squirrel Hill is a relatively large neighborhood of 17,000 acres and one in which many residents in neighboring communities aspire to live. According to the United Jewish Federation, there are 50,000 Jews (broadly defined, including many non-observant) in the Pittsburgh area. Roughly half of the observant live in Squirrel Hill. To Brad Perelman, owner of Pinsker's Judaica Store on Murray Avenue, "It's one of the desirable places to live in the United States for an Orthodox Jew... It's an urban environment that's still viable. It's pleasant, the cost of living is very moderate." Judith Ross, archivist at the Jewish Archives at the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and Squirrel Hill resident, agrees, "It really is a Jewish neighborhood, it really has that feel and it's vibrant still. And you just don't see that anywhere else in the city..."

Ron DeLallo, owner of the Squirrel Hill Cafe has this appreciation of Squirrel Hill's ethnicity: "They go by the ethnic value. Anywhere in the city of Pittsburgh. My mother's from the Northside, she's a full-blooded German. Father's from Homewood, it was all Italians. You know in the Southside, you have the Polish and the Slovenians over there. Squirrel Hill, predominately Jewish."

> As far as Gerry Palkovitz is concerned, Ron DeLallo's perception was right:
> [I grew up] on Phillips Avenue, just down the street... When I was growing up in Squirrel Hill, I went to public schools, but all of my classmates were Jewish. I went here to Colfax School. When it came a Jewish holiday, they could have closed the school down. There'd be in the whole school, maybe 10 kids. And the kids used to say, 'Oh, a Jewish Holiday, we'll be able to go swimming all day.' That's what they used to do... When I went to Taylor Allderdice, that's where I first met non-Jewish people, really. It was 7th grade.

But ask M.M. Castner, who grew up no more than a half a mile from Gerry Palkovitz, and she'd describe a very different ethnic community: "I lived in the block right at the end of this street [Morrowfield by] Beechwood Blvd. and ... I thought there was nobody but Catholics. ... As far as

growing up in a multi-ethnic neighborhood, I didn't... They were German... Irish... They were not all Irish, but everybody was on St. Patrick's Day!"

Community identity--Greenfield

Greenfield is smaller, about one-third the size of Squirrel Hill, more hilly and off the beaten path, although good housing values are now attracting middle-class families to the area. Father Joseph Reschick thinks there is good reason to live in Greenfield:

> Greenfield is a very close-knit type of neighborhood. I do believe that people do watch for each other... Everybody knows each other. A lot of people who grew up here never left here. Once they got married they wanted to stay here. I think it's an ideal location. You're close to downtown... to any of the cultural things... to the shopping centers, the malls. You're not far from the turnpike, you're not far from the parkway. You can be hooked up to the airport in 20-25 minutes. ... Plus you're far enough from the city... As you come to Greenfield across the Schenley Park bridge, it says 'a suburban community in the city.' It is. This is the first city parish I've been in, but it does remind me of a suburban place.

Some of the Irish in Greenfield settled there because of the proximity to Squirrel Hill where Irish often worked in the larger homes. Maureen McBirney's parents both immigrated from Ireland in the late 1920s or early 1930s, "My own mother worked for the Levy's. They lived on Beechwood Blvd. I believe he was with Gulf Oil. They had a very large home. These homes, unlike today, would have maybe 12 people working in the house. Of those 12, maybe 8 of them were Irish. So it would be a home away from home." Although Maureen was raised in the Lincoln Avenue area, her father was initially drawn to the Irish community in Greenfield: "Oakland is where he settled when he first came, then he moved to Greenfield... There was a boarding house, a family named Keating, and there were... about 7 or 8 men his age, in their early 20s, just come to Pittsburgh who stayed at that boarding house." Maureen's parents met at an Irish function in Schenley Park:

> I have a few photos... some pictures of Schenley park where they would gather on a Sunday afternoon... The girls would work all week, I don't know if they got every Sunday off, but they often got Sundays off. The men would have Sunday off, they were laborers usually, so that was the great place to gather on a Sunday afternoon. They

> were all dressed up. The men had suits and ties and hats. And the women were in their Sunday best. ... They met, probably at a dance, at one of the Irish dances that they used to have. Those dances kept up until, I can remember going to them in my early 20s. There were specifically Irish dances where you could do Irish dancing, group dancing, sets and ceilidh dancing.

Upper Greenfield still has the reputation as an Irish section. The local youth gang that was reportedly involved in an incident with rival neighborhood groups at Taylor Allderdice High School in 1993 is a group of teenagers known as the "Irish Gang." Father Reschick says,

> About 1/3 of the parish now is Irish, 1/3 is Italian and 1/3 is Eastern European. St. Joachim [parish, in The Run] was a Slovak parish. St. Rosalia's at one time was Irish, but somewhere along the line a lot of Italian people began to move in. I want to include the German people in with the Eastern Europeans, there is a substantial number of Germans.

Bill Smith describes Greenfield as a low-crime area compared to other neighborhoods in the city, with a lot of activities centered around the Magee Recreation Complex: "There's the swimming pool during the day and... baseball games and so forth." Bill sees the church as being a central institution:

> There's a strong Catholic influence in the community. St. Rosalia's is by far the largest church... There's a Knights of Columbus Hall on Greenfield Avenue... The church does allow some of the organizations to sponsor and do events. AARP will do a Night at the Races there. The football organization is doing a Night at the Races there tonight. We're doing, next Saturday, a community awards dinner to recognize volunteers... We'll have somewhere between 250 and 300 people there.

The section of Greenfield known as The Run was developed before 1900 as a residential area for people working in the factories that lined the northern bank of the Monongahela south and west of Second Avenue. Michael Roman calls this area *Russka Dolina* "[It] means Russian Valley, and [the residents] came from the Carpathian Mountains..." The predominant groups in that area were Carpatho-Rusin Byzantine Catholics and Slovakian Roman Catholics. "I would say the Carpatho-Rusins were the majority and the Slovaks were close," continues Roman, "And then there were some Italians. And I think the county controller, Frank Lucchino, was born there, too."

Roman asserts that the two groups always got along very well:

> They were quite friendly... They came from that Zemplin county... where in one village there were Slovaks and across the hill in another village there were Byzantine Catholic Rusins and sometimes if the village were big enough there were both, Slovak and Byzantine Catholic...

Although Michael Roman grew up in a coalmining town outside of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, he felt very much at home in The Run because he was amongst *krajane* (compatriots). His family immigrated from Zemplin County (now part of Hungary) as did the Carpatho-Rusin residents of The Run. Greek Catholic Union Lodge 255 was established in 1905. "This was the lodge that was instrumental in the founding of St. John Chrysostom Catholic Church in 1910... Between 1905 and 1910 they were going to St. John the Baptist Church in South Side... It was located around 7th Avenue and across the street was the Ukrainian Catholic Church... It was a long walk... They did have horse-drawn trolleys then."

4. Relationship between Greenfield and Squirrel Hill

The conflict between Greenfield's "Irish Gang" and other neighborhood gangs at the high school last year was reported to involve inter-racial conflict between students from Greenfield and Homewood. The relationship between natives of Squirrel Hill and Greenfield is subtler, but still competitive, perhaps hostile. Father Reschick said:

> I think a lot of the people up there... have their roots in Greenfield. The people that were moved quickly to register here were originally from St. Rosalia's or from Greenfield. ... I think people might have an attitude of 'I don't want to live in Greenfield, I want to live in Squirrel Hill' because it has more prestige... When St. Philomena's school was closing and people said, 'No, we're not coming to Greenfield,' then people here said, 'Well, they're not coming here.'

M.M. Castner is now in the geographic area of St. Rosalia's parish since "St. Phil's" has been closed. She decided that for her, St. Bede's would be more convenient since she works at nearby Clayton giving tours on Sunday afternoons. She misses being able to walk to church on Sunday and is still very angry at the church hierarchy:

> I feel very much betrayed by the bishops and I don't trust them and I'm not getting

> involved. So I go to church every Sunday morning. Now I feel that I've been excused by the bishop when it snows, 'cause I can't drive in the snow and we don't have bus service. The shuttle bus that I take to work when it snows doesn't run on Sundays.

5. Geography and important institutions

Many of Squirrel Hill's quiet residential streets are tree-lined, gardens are well-kept. Few of the streets are cobblestoned anymore, but the neighborhood still retains the calm dignity and tall trees of a long-established residential community. The hill in Squirrel Hill is a broad, fairly flat-topped mound, ending abruptly in the bluffs overlooking 5th Avenue and Mellon Park towards the north and tapering downward towards the east and the neighborhood of Point Breeze. To the west it is bordered by the lovely Schenley Park and by Greenfield. To the east, south of Point Breeze, lie Homewood Cemetery and the wilder acreage of Frick Park. The slag heaps fill in the valley to the south where the Monongahela River marks the southern border. Across the Homestead High Level Bridge is the town of Homestead, outside of the city limits of Pittsburgh.

Greenfield's landscape is characterized by steep hills blanketed by a spiderweb of streets and staircases. There is a private, hidden quality to the neighborhood as though most of the streets are travelled only by the local residents themselves. Neat, modest homes line the streets. The top of Greenfield's bluff offers one of the most spectacular views of the Golden Triangle.

In the frontier years, both Squirrel Hill and Greenfield were known as good hunting grounds abundant with game. A few country homes and log cabins were built in the area, but the development of Squirrel Hill and Greenfield as Pittsburgh suburbs had to wait until the end of the 19th century and the building of the eastbound trolley lines from Oakland and downtown.

GREENFIELD

The 1990 Census provides data on current residents, and the definition of the census tracts themselves offers geographic dimension to the neighborhoods. Greenfield, the smaller of the two communities, is in the 15th Ward and is described in Census Tracts 1516 and 1517. Tract 1516 includes "Lower Greenfield," a community also known variously as "The Run," after Four Mile Run, the

creek that comes into it from Oakland; "Russian Valley," after its Carpatho-Rusin settlers; and "Saline Valley," after the road that runs up the valley into Oakland. The southern border goes along Sylvan Street, east to include Parade, Georgekay and Winterburn streets that perch on the bluff overlooking Hazelwood. Winterburn makes the eastern border and the Penn Lincoln Parkway marks the northern boundary.[3] St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Rite Church, St. Rosalia's Catholic Church, Magee Field and the Greenfield Organization are all in this area, most near the business district at the upper-western stretch of Greenfield Avenue. Franklin Toker describes this section of Greenfield as "a two-horned pyramid" with "extraordinary views from almost every street. ... [O]ne can see the downtown skyscrapers five miles and the steelworks upriver and downriver on the Monongahela; on Yoder Street there is also a vivid panorama across Schenley Park into Oakland."

Tract 1517 shares the Winterburn Street boundary on its western edge and the Parkway to the north. To the west it includes the Minadeo School and part of Saline Street south to Hazelwood and Bigelow Avenues along the southern boundary, including "Upper Greenfield" and "Bigelow Heights." A small Orthodox Jewish congregation of 100 members, B'nai Emunoh, is located in this area, as is the large Giant Eagle grocery store and the business district at the southern end of Murray Avenue.

SQUIRREL HILL

Squirrel Hill, encompassing the massive 14th Ward of Pittsburgh (the largest Democratic Party ward in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania), is a larger area, boasting close to 29,000 residents in 1990 as compared with Greenfield's 8,500. For the purposes of this study, I have grouped the 7 census tracts into 4 areas, pairing off adjacent tracts that share similar demographic and cultural features. "South Squirrel Hill," Census Tract 1414, borders Greenfield Tract 1517 at Saline Street along the east; the eastern border continues southward along Saline then Brown's Hill Road to the Homestead High Level Bridge. The Monongahela River marks the boundary to the south, including the

[3]Penn Lincoln Parkway is the official name for US Route 376, which is better known by its nickname "the Parkway."

Riverview Center for Jewish Seniors[4] and the tiny community of "Duck Hollow" below the slag heap left by United States Steel in the south end of Frick Park. Connecting Frick Park to the River is a small, polluted creek called Nine Mile Run. This creek marks the eastern border of Tract 1414. Forward Avenue is the northern border. The site of the now-closed St. Philomena's Roman Catholic Church and school is in this area, as is the oldest religious congregation in Squirrel Hill, the Mary F. Brown Memorial Methodist Church with its cemetery plot, early pioneer graves and Indian mounds.

Tracts 1413 and 1408 each have large parks within their borders. Tract 1413 lies due north of the Parkway and Greenfield and Tract 1408 lies north of Forward Avenue and South Squirrel Hill. Murray Avenue is the dividing line, north to south, between these two tracts and Forbes Avenue and Schenley Drive mark the northern boundaries. Tract 1413 includes the Jewish Community Center, the Lubavitcher Center, Hillel Academy of Pittsburgh, Yeshiva Achei Tmimim, and Schenley Park, with Boundary Street and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks running along the western edge. Tract 1408's eastern border is Nine Mile Creek in Frick Park. Within Tract 1408 are Shaare Torah, Beth Shalom and Poale Zedeck synagogues, as well as a number of smaller Jewish congregations, the Jewish Educational Institute, Colfax Elementary School and Taylor Allderdice High School.

Due north of Tracts 1413 and 1408 is the area known as "North of Forbes." Forbes Avenue and its extension into Schenley Park, Schenley Drive, mark the southern border of this area. The western tract, 1401.98, includes Carnegie Mellon University, Mellon Institute, the Pittsburgh Golf Club and the "Morewood Farms" residential section. Fifth and Wilkins avenues mark the northern boundary of this tract and Wightman Street marks the eastern boundary. I have paired it with Tract 1402, which includes north of Wilkins, south of Fifth Avenue and east of Shady Avenue. Tract 1402 includes Chatham College and a very pricey residential neighborhood encompassing Dunmoyle, Fair Oaks, South Negley, Murrayhill Streets and Woodland Drive.

East of Wightman and Morewood Farms lies Tract 1403. This area is bordered to the north by

[4]formerly called the Jewish Home for the Aged

Wilkins, to the east by Dallas and to the south by Forbes Avenue. In the southeast corner is the Smithfield East End Cemetery, dwarfed by Point Breeze's Homewood Cemetery just across Dallas Avenue. Included in this area is the Squirrel Branch of the Carnegie Library, Tree of Life Synagogue, the Wightman School Community Center, Pittsburgh Fire Station #34 and Anathan House Senior Center. Paired with this is Tract 1404, bordered to the south by Wilkins Avenue, to the east by Dallas Avenue, to the north by Penn and Fifth avenues and to the west by Shady Avenue. This tract, though identified on the NeighborFair map as being largely within Squirrel Hill, is often referred to as "Point Breeze." Included in this area are Linden Elementary School, Mellon Park and a small business district on Reynolds Avenue.

Schenley Park

Three hundred acres of prime, undeveloped real estate were donated to the city by Mary Schenley in 1889 for the express purpose of creating a public park. Phipps Conservatory was erected in 1893 and Andrew Carnegie convinced the city to set aside land for the Carnegie Library and Museum, which were built in 1895 and enlarged in 1907. In 1905 Carnegie built the Carnegie Technical Schools[5] on an adjacent tract. Pittsburgh's Director of Public Works, Edward M. Bigelow, added another 120 acres to the park and oversaw the park's development.

The Arcadian-style park was landscaped in the 1890s according to the style of English landscape architect William Falconer. George Burke succeeded Bigelow in 1903. He conceived of the tuffa stone bridges.

Some of the early buildings have disappeared. The Casino, built in 1895[6] at the present site of the Frick Fine Arts Building, had an ice rink and amusement building. It was referred to as the handsomest building of its kind in the country.

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[5]later renamed Carnegie Institute of Technology, the institution merged with Mellon Institute in 1967 and was called Carnegie Mellon University

[6]the casino burned down in 1896

Schenley Park was a place where new immigrants went to visit with their fellow countrymen. Maureen McBirney describes it this way: "Schenley Park... especially when the weather was nice, was a place to go to gather and meet people you knew and meet others you had not met yet."

In 1913 a merry-go-round opened on the corner of Greenfield Road and Panther Hollow Drive. M.M. Castner remembers:

> My father... would pile all the neighborhood kids in the car and we went down to Shenley park where they had a free merry-grand, a huge one down there. We used to do this several nights a week. Then we'd stop at Isaly's on the way home. We got those big long scooped cones... You had to stand in line, but it was free. It was a huge one, as big as the one at Kennywood. And it was right at that big intersection in the park, where the road goes into the skating rink... You could ride once, then you had to get off and get back in line...

Development continued, and the use of the park expanded. The first automobile races took place in 1899; in 1907, Schenley Oval was completed and was used for horse races. In 1909 Schenley Lake was built for boating in the Panther Hollow ravine and 8 miles of bridle paths expanded the number of people using the park. That same year Forbes Field was opened and became the home of the Pittsburgh Pirates for 60 years. The band shell was built in 1911. Later, the ravine south of Forbes Avenue was filled and the Schenley Plaza parking lot was formed. The University of Pittsburgh expanded towards the park as well as into Oakland and towards downtown Pittsburgh.

The rapid concentration of institutions in Oakland and Schenley Park created the first planned cultural and civic center in the United States. Development continued, but the pace was slower, due somewhat to the fact that the area was becoming crowded. Schenley Pool was built in 1921. Many bridges built by the Works Projects Administration of 1939 are clearly marked. The bowling green was put in in 1932, and in 1976, the Schenley Ice Rink was constructed.

The Park maintains its central place in the lives of East End residents. Dorothy Miller's Rich/Poor Man's Guide to Pittsburgh lists Schenley Park as the place to watch CMU's buggy races in April or the Grand Prix auto races in August. The Park is the place for informal picnics, family reunions, and use of the public pool. Its view of downtown Pittsburgh attracts huge crowds to view fireworks on

the 4th of July.

From 1895 to 1958, thirteen public sculptures were erected within Schenley Park. Four of them, including the panthers on the bridge over Panther Hollow and the statues of Edward Bigelow, Stephen Foster and Hygeia, were designed by Guiseppi Moretti. Other artists include Henry Hornbostel, Augustus S. Gardens, Victor David Brenner, Daniel Chester, Richard Hamilton Couper, Frank Vittor and J. Massey Rhind.

Frick Park

Industrialist Henry Clay Frick's 1919 will left 150 acres to the city of Pittsburgh for the express purpose of establishing a public park on the grounds. The will also stipulated a $2 million trust for future land acquisition, operation, maintenance and capital improvements. Ninety acres were subsequently purchased from the Country Club Land Company which was then an exclusive riding club. The second purchase included property where the Swisshelm Grist Mill and log cabin home had once stood.

Frick Park now includes property of the Shaws, Rankins, Phillips and Swisshelms. It is the wildest park in the city, comprising over 300 acres and extending from the Penn Lincoln Parkway north to Reynolds Street in South Homewood and from Squirrel Hill east to Edgewood. Most of this area is undeveloped. Nine Mile Run rises in the Park to flow south to the Monongahela River at the eastern edge of Hazelwood.

Recreational facilities include two large and popular playgrounds. One, at the corner of Braddock and Forbes Avenues, is adjacent to a baseball field and tennis courts and sits above Nine Mile Run. There are several hiking paths, a soccer field and picnic areas south of the playground. The second playground, known by the children affectionately as "Blue Slide Park" because of the color of the big cement ground-slide there, is located north of Forward Avenue off Beechwood Boulevard. There, a baseball field, hiking trails and grassy slopes attract neighborhood children and families year-round. Some traditional ethnic activities do take place in the park: for instance, according to Maureen McBirney, the Irish Centre has a women's sports team called Camogie which holds games at Frick

Park.

Mellon Park

Mellon Park is the smallest of the three parks adjacent to Squirrel Hill. It is located on the corner of Fifth and Shady avenues at the previous site of the estates of Richard B. Mellon and John N. Marshall. The Pittsburgh Civic Garden Center was established there in 1935. The Park is now home to the Pittsburgh Center for the Arts and has been the site of the annual Fair in the Park since 1969. The City Parks program uses the Park for Jazz concerts, classical music brunches and other outdoor concerts.

6.A. The People--Ethnic identity

The 1990 census provides information based on race, on first ancestry reported and on the language spoken at home. While it is somewhat difficult to put together a picture of the community's ethnic make-up from these figures, the numbers are interesting nevertheless.

Assuming that more recent immigration coincides with greater use of a language other than English in the home, then, in most cases, the predominant ethnic groups appear to be long-time residents of the region, because "native" language use in these groups has dropped dramatically. By examining the data on language spoken in the home, it is possible to get a picture of settlement patterns of recent immigrants.

North of Forbes, in Census Tract 1401.98 with a total population of 5,406, 18%, or 952, chose German as their first ancestry reported. This is the largest group. Russian is first ancestry of the next largest group, 468 or 9% of the residents of this tract. English with 387 (7%), Irish with 317 (6%), Italian with 323 (6%), Polish with 318 (6%) represent the next largest ancestry group. The rest are distributed among every other census category of first ethnic ancestry except Yugoslavia. The language spoken at home is also interesting, but the categories of nationality are different from the major ancestries declared above. One hundred people (2% of the total number in the tract) are shown as

speaking Chinese in the home, 87 (2%) speaking Spanish, 85 (2%) speaking Indic, 78 (1%) speaking French, 65 (1%) speaking Korean, and 44 (1%) speaking Greek and another 44 (1%) speaking German. In 84% of the households only English is spoken, but there is a wide range of other languages being spoken by small groups of people.

Census Tract 1402 is smaller, with 2,463 total residents, and seems mostly made up of people of northern European origin. Of these, 484 (20%) report German ancestry, 346 (14%) report Irish ancestry, 263 (11%) report English ancestry, 223 (9%) report Russian ancestry. The rest are mostly European with Polish, Italian, Hungarian, French, Scottish and Slovak heading the list. Of this group, 85% speak only English at home. 63 (3%) speak Spanish, 60 (2%) speak Indic, 38 (2%) speak Italian, and others speak Greek, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese.

In Census Tract 1403 the total population is 3,610. The largest group reported here is German, with 781 (22%). Next is Russian with 411 (11%) and English with 410 (11%), followed by Polish with 359 (10%) and Irish with 353 (10%). The rest are mostly northern European in origin. Eighty-two percent of the tract's residents speak only English in the home. Spanish is spoken by 125 (3%) of the residents. Arabic is spoken by 49 (1%), French by 38 (1%), German by 31 (1%), Chinese by 29 (1%), and Hungarian by 28 (1%).

Census Tract 1404 has 2,445 residents. The largest ancestry group reported here is 312 (13%) for Russians, followed closely by the Irish with 277 (11%), the Germans with 240 (10%), the English with 219 (9%) and the Italians with 191 (8%). Of this group, 86% speak only English in the home. French is the most popular other language with 43 people (2%) using it in their homes. Other languages spoken by 11-16 people each include German, Yiddish, Spanish, Polish, Hungarian and Korean.

Moving south of Forbes, Census Tract 1408 has 4,573 residents. The largest group is of Russian ancestry, with 528 (12%). The Polish are second, with 493 (11%) and the German are third with 465 (10%). Hungarian ancestry is reported by 239 (5%). Other major groups represented are the English, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Scotch-Irish, and Slovak. In this tract, 70% speaks only English in

the home, a lower percentage than in the "North of Forbes" tract. Yiddish is spoken by 175 residents (4%), Spanish is spoken by 166 (4%), Chinese by 121 (3%) and Russian by 89 (2%). Other major languages spoken include Indic, German, French, Japanese and Portuguese.

Tract 1413, which includes Schenley Park, has 5,139 residents. This is another diverse group. The largest ancestry group reported first is Russian with 797 residents (16%). German is second, with 599 residents (12%). Following these are the Irish with 384 (7%), Polish with 318 (6%), Hungarian with 264 (5%) and English with 210 (4%). Eighty-one percent speak only English in the home. Chinese is spoken by 134 residents (3%), Yiddish is spoken by 118 (2%), and Russian is spoken by 90 (2%). Other languages represented include German, Greek, Indic, French, Spanish, Polish, Arabic, and Hungarian.

In the South Squirrel Hill Census Tract 1414 with 5,256 residents, Russian is the first ancestry reported most often, with 493 residents (9%). They are followed closely by 485 residents (9%) reporting German ancestry and 463 (9%) reporting Italian ancestry. 368 (7%) came from Ireland, 363 (7%) from Poland, and 267 (5%) from England. Other ancestries reported include Hungarian, Lithuanian, Romanian and Scotch-Irish. One-fifth of the residents speak a language other than English in the home. Of these, the largest language group is Yiddish, spoken by 239 residents (5%). There are a number of smaller groups: 120 (2%) speak Polish, 98 (2%) speak Spanish, 75 (1%) speak Italian, 55 (1%) speak Chinese and 48 (1%) speak Korean.

In Greenfield Census Tract 1516 there are 2,881 residents. The largest first ancestry group is Italian, with 634 (22%). Second to this group are the Slovaks, with 536 (19%). Irish are next with 490 (17%), followed by Germans with 374 (13%) and Polish with 143 (5%). Eighty-six percent of the residents speak only English in the home; 85 (3%) speak "other Slavic language" (perhaps Carpatho-Rusin, Slovak or Croatian), 81 (3%) speak Italian, 31 (1%) speak Spanish and 12 (.5%) speak Greek and 12 (.5%) speak Chinese.

The other half of Greenfield, Census Tract 1517, has 5,604 residents. The largest group there is of Irish ancestry, with 945 (17%) reporting. Close behind are Italian with 942 (17%) and German

with 929 (17%). The next group is Russian with 399 (7%) reporting, followed by English with 290 (5%), Polish with 250 (4%), and Slovak with 247 (4%). 83% speak only English in the home. The two most popular languages other than English are Italian (128 or 2%) and German (125 or 2%). After that Chinese is reported by 68 (1%), Spanish by 60 (1%), Russian by 56 (1%) and "other Slavic language" by 45 (1%).

There is a significant use of Yiddish in the south Squirrel Hill neighborhoods described by Census Tracts 1408, 1413 and 1414 where Yiddish is the language used in the home by 535 people. The Orthodox Jewish community is strongly represented in these areas, with all of the Orthodox synagogues, the Jewish day schools and the Jewish Community Center (JCC) located here. Gerry Palkovitz thinks that Yiddish is used by two distinct groups within the Jewish community:

> There's a group of people who speak Yiddish who are totally irreligious, they're Jewish, but they don't really affiliate with tradition or Judaism. Then there are other people who speak Yiddish who are religious... There's a whole new phenomenon that has blossomed in the last ten years. In Hebrew it's called the Ba'al T'shuva Movement, people who have returned to their roots. ... In our synagogue there's a large number of people who were raised either in a Reform home or with no background, who have become Orthodox.

Dee Davis, Director of Senior Adult Services at the JCC, has set up a Yiddish group as part of the senior activities at the center:

> I do know there are people, 70 and 80 year-olds, who come here... Just to keep it alive. There's another group who meet here at the JCC that speak Yiddish. Don't forget, Jews were all over the world. They were coming from Poland, they spoke Polish. From Hungary, Hungarian. German Jewish people. But if you spoke Yiddish, you could talk to any Jewish person... The people coming from Russia who are elderly speak Yiddish. I can go into [our daily lunch program] and pull out someone who's here from Israel, an older person, someone who's just come from Russia, someone who's lived here a long time, and bring them together with Yiddish. None of them speaking English, maybe.

Yiddish is the only language used in this area that indicates religious affiliation or religious heritage as well as nationality or ethnic heritage. As Dee Davis explains, there is a strong emotional attachment to the language amongst those who use it:

> Yiddish is absolutely a rich, delightful language. You can't translate literally. ... As a child, if my mother said to me 'hak mir nich ko'chainik' --the literal translation is 'Don't pound any teakettles.' Which meant, figuratively, don't make noise, don't bother me, don't make a disturbance. It originates with children playing. What did they play with? They didn't have toys... They had pots and pans, and so they banged them and made noise. ... The curses are fabulous, 'Solst du vachsn za 'be'tsibil'n mit dein kopp en d'reir-- you should grow like an onion with your head in the ground!' Or it talks about, 'You should have a big house with lots of bedrooms, but you shouldn't sleep one night.' You should be running from bedroom to bedroom with... Or 'All the teeth should fall out of your mouth except one and that should have a horrible toothache.' ... Those were beautiful, they had substance to them."

Chinese is spoken by small groups in all the census tracts examined except for the North of Forbes/Point Breeze neighborhood described by Tract 1404. In all, 519 persons report using Chinese in the home. According to Yuet Ming Eva, herself a naturalized American citizen who immigrated here from Hong Kong, there are many forms of Chinese language used among the Chinese living in Pittsburgh:

> Some speak Cantonese, some speak Mandarin, you can tell some are from Mainland, some are from Taiwan. We don't know them... We have all kinds of different dialects.... The written language is the unifying force, we read the same written text. I had to learn to speak Mandarin when I was in college... In Hong Kong we all speak Cantonese, but if you're from a different part of China, you speak different dialects...

According to Hui Yuet Ming Eva and Elena, her friend who is also from Hong Kong, the Pittsburgh-resident students they have met from China don't usually speak Cantonese.

Spanish is used in the home by 665 residents of Squirrel Hill and Greenfield, spread among all census tracts. The largest numbers live in the northern neighborhoods of Squirrel Hill, which leads me to believe that most of this group is affiliated with the university community in Oakland.

Use of Russian is reported by 235 individuals in Census Tracts 1408, 1413 and 1517. These numbers are from the 1990 Census. They predate the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 and the subsequent emigration from Russia, Eastern Europe and the new, previously Soviet republics. Russian is often heard nowadays along Murray Avenue in Squirrel Hill. Genny Davud-Zade, herself a recent immigrant from Azerbaijan, estimates that there are now about 2,000 new Russian immigrants in

Pittsburgh. Linda Ehrenreich from the Jewish Family and Children Services (JFCS) works with new immigrants. She sees not only Russians, but also Bosnians, Azerbaijanis and immigrants from other republics. They are not all Jewish, and the Jewish immigrants are not all religious. Except for a few "free cases," most only come to Pittsburgh through contact with other family members after they have acquired refugee status. Since the end of 1988, the JFCS has worked with approximately 200 new immigrants per year. Most are living in the Squirrel Hill area of the city, but some move to the suburbs after getting jobs.

The next census will undoubtedly reflect this new immigration, probably showing a rapid increase in the numbers of Russian speakers living in and around Squirrel Hill. Genny Davud-Zade's daughter, Victoria, opened the Moscow Nights Restaurant in November, 1993, featuring Russian cooking and music. "In this restaurant, they remind of their culture. They sing songs, Russians sing songs and Russian dancing and Russian food. What they doing when they was young... Every week coming new and new Russian people."

There are small groups of people using other languages in their homes, also concentrated in specific neighborhoods. Indic, for example is reported by 138 people in the exclusive North of Forbes neighborhoods described by Census Tracts 1401.98 and 1402. My guess is that this group is made up of students and professionals associated with the universities and hospitals in nearby Oakland. Satwant Kaur Mehta, herself an American-born Punjabi, lives in South Squirrel Hill and doesn't think that the Indian community is concentrated in any one neighborhood in particular:

> We tend to not identify with our local neighborhoods, just because of the numbers of us. There aren't not that many. We tend to identify with the larger communities to which we belong. Then it's by religion. The Sikh community is one community. In the Hindu community there are several communities. In the Muslim community, they have their own mosque. Our religious centers become the social centers as well."

Slavic, Italian and German languages are still used in a significant number of households in the southern Squirrel Hill Census Tract 1414 and in both tracts describing Greenfield. The individuals involved are probably older immigrants, representing those remaining from or raised by those who

arrived in the waves of immigration that took place before 1920 into the steelmaking centers of this region. The way the language is reported in the Census makes it difficult to differentiate between the Slovaks and the Carpatho-Rusins, as the choices offered to them by the census form are "Russian," "Southern Slavic" and "other Slavic." Those in the largest non-English language group in Greenfield identify themselves as speakers of "other Slavic." Michael Roman reports that few are learning to speak the language of their ancestors. His own son is trying to learn, now that he has been elected to the executive board of the Greek Catholic Union. Roman is happy, however, that his granddaughter has taken an interest in the culture and is studying Russian in college.

6.B. The People--Age

Father Joseph Reschick talks about the aging population of Greenfield as an issue and how his parish is concerned about continuing to provide religious and community services to an increasingly senior membership:

> Probably 55-60% of the parish is elderly, 55 and above... There is the senior citizen center up near Magee [field]. We also house AARP for their meetings on a monthly basis. ... This fall they're going to be breaking ground for a senior citizen highrise right up across the street here [overlooking the Parkway]. There's [nowhere] in Greenfield [for the elderly to live]... Unless they have a ride it would be impossible for some of them to come to church.

The census data bears him out: in 1990, 19% of Greenfield was 65 years old or older, a 2% higher population of elderly people than in the county at large. Even more elderly, 21% of the total, are reported in Tract 1516, which includes "The Run" area of Greenfield.

Geographic concentration of the elderly is also apparent in Squirrel Hill. The tracts with the highest income in Squirrel Hill, 1401.98 and 1402, show the lowest percentage of elderly residents: the first has around 8% of its residents reporting ages 65 and older, the second has 11%. Tracts 1413 and 1414 show very high percentages of residents older than 65, 24% for Tract 1413 and 27% for Tract 1414. There is a cluster of apartment houses along Wightman, Hobart and Covode streets in Tract

1413 which house seniors. The Riverview Center including the Riverview Towers senior apartments are in Tract 1414, as are several apartment houses along Murray and Morrowfield avenues, the Beechwood Apartments and the old riverside community of Duck Hollow at the southern sector of the tract.

Judith Ross suggests that the high concentration of elderly in parts of Squirrel Hill is not just an issue of concern to the Jewish community:

> As I understand it, the senior population in Pittsburgh is only second, percentage-wise, to Miami. Which is pretty incredible. That's why all this business is going on about additional senior facilities in Squirrel Hill. After all, the Jewish community feels a strong commitment to take care of its own and have some place to live. Riverview, which looks like it will be undergoing some changes, has been the only place. For some people that's a bit far out. ... Many people have their parents and grandparents here. So they want to provide a nice place for them to live.

Youth are least abundant in South Squirrel Hill, Tract 1414, and in Squirrel Hill Tract 1413, although both of these areas show large numbers of people in the 25-44 age range. The University of Pittsburgh, Chatham College and Carnegie Mellon University have the effect of increasing the numbers of youths living at and around the campuses. Tract 1401.98 shows an astounding 66% in the 0-24 year old range, 86% of these youth are in the 18-24 year-old range.

6.C. The People--Income

According to the 1990 Census data (and the chart and graph in Appendix B of this report), of the over 1.3 million residents in Allegheny County, 61% earned between $10,000 and $49,999, 17% earned less than $10,000 and 4% earned over $100,000. Squirrel Hill is known as an affluent community, but it is only in the area north of Forbes that the income data differs substantially from the norm for the County. The data shows that in Greenfield, 70% of residents' households made between $10,000 and $49,999 per year, 14% made less than $10,000/year and fewer than 1% made over $100,000/year. These figures deviate only slightly from the county's overall picture, with fewer very

poor or very rich and more middle-income households.

South and Central Squirrel Hill, census tracts 1408, 1413 and 1414, demonstrate similar income curves, with fewer falling in the $10,000-$49,999 brackets and more in the $50,000-and-more brackets. Interestingly enough, all three have a larger percentage than Greenfield does of households with incomes falling below $10,000/year. This could be attributed to larger student populations and to a higher percentage of elderly residents on fixed incomes.

North of Forbes, the income curve is skewed way out of the norm, especially for the two western-most tracts, 1401.98 and 1402. There, only 5% of the households make less than $10,000, whereas 34% make over $100,000/year.

6.D. The People--Work

There is a distinct ethos regarding work in Squirrel Hill and in Greenfield. In general, people in Squirrel Hill value professions such as law, medicine and business more than blue-collar labor or construction professions. In Greenfield the opposite is true. Dee Davis tells of her own reaction to her youngest son's childhood desire to be a carpenter:

> I remember when my youngest son wanted a tool set and he says he's going to be a carpenter, and I said, 'if you're handy, you could be a brain surgeon.' I guess I felt that if he's going to use his hand and he's going to be bright, let him be a doctor instead of a mechanic.

> This view contrasts with Bill Smith's comments on the relative status of various types of work: People don't have much regard for people that work in government, ... Most of the people grew up having to work pretty hard. So there's still that strong influence. Most of the people that live here, their parents or grandparents worked in the mills or in the railroads... There's a pride in that... People who worked there are still proud that they worked there...

For Dee Davis, ethnic identity and discrimination both played a role in appreciation of work, education and social power in the Jewish community:

> Most of the Jewish people of my parents' generation were in businesses, or worked for someone. My generation was the first generation to go to college... And what was clear

> in our household beyond and above everything else was to get an education. That was the most vital, important thing. At great sacrifice to parents.
>
> My in-laws owned a little grocery store, it was probably opened 18 hours a day in case somebody wanted to buy a quart of milk and they could make another penny or two. But ultimately the goal was through the children. That they would be educated.
>
> So my peer group, in large measure, went to college, and a lot of them are professionals. Those were your doctors, your lawyers. Doctors and lawyers more than engineer[s]. In my generation there was a quota system at Pitt medical school. And many of my Jewish friends could not get into medical school. Not because their credentials were not better than those getting in, but because there was a quota system then. And they would only take so many Jewish students.
>
> They knew that the road out was education and professions and that they weren't going to make it if they were in the trades.

Brad Perelman adds that "people who are Orthodox keep the Sabbath, can't work on Saturday. So in terms of business, this has limitations."

According to Bill Smith, it was the steel industry that provided most of the jobs in Greenfield up until the late 1970s:

> People did very well with the mills. They were getting paid big, big money... The main employer back in the 50s and the 60s was J&L, US Steel, large number of local people worked for the mills, or they worked for the railroads... [The mill closures were] kind of a continuous decline. ... The decline started to happen '77-78 and just proceeded to a point to where there was virtually nothing. It has kind of rebounded a little bit with LTV in Hazelwood. It just seemed for the longest time from '77-78 through the mid-80s it was just constantly, people were getting laid off.

Those well-paid steel mill and railroad jobs are gone now and they are still sorely missed in Greenfield:[7]

> I'm sure a number of people are not working... for the same take-home pay they were when the mills were going strong. There's definitely been a drop-off. ... There's an increase in spouses going to work and second incomes...

[7] both this and the next quote are exerpted from Bill Smith's interview

For many Greenfield residents, the changing regional economy has forced people to seek work elsewhere:

> Now, a lot of people work for a lot of different places, and ... there's a lot of people working in government--various departments of the city, public safety, a number of firemen live in the community. There are some police that live in the area. Parks and recreation, or the Mayor's--the row office, the finance department, mayor's information center. Probably, ... the single largest employer is government now. A lot of professionals, younger folks who have moved in recent years that have jobs in the health industry over in Oakland... It might be a contest... between government and health related jobs ...

There is disagreement amongst my informants as to the effect the mill closures had on Squirrel Hill residents. M.M. Castner didn't know anybody from her neighborhood who worked in the steel mills, although her neighbors, the Woffords, once had a big bakery in Homestead. Ron DeLallo feels that the activity in the mills was good for business, and he misses it:

> You had mills, you had construction. Everything went by shifts, you never had to wear a watch. You knew just by who was coming in the door, who was leaving what time of day it was... I used to get here at 6 am in the morning, this place was filled up by 6:30 am. By 7 when the cook and everybody else was here, you had a full breakfast going, full bar. This was 6 days a week. Now, it's changed so much that we don't open our doors 'til 11 am. Because of that traffic, that flow. You don't have it anymore.

7.A. Settlement patterns -Squirrel Hill

When, in 1901, industrialist Isaac Frank moved his family to a stately red-brick Squirrel Hill mansion, which is still standing at the corner of Wightman Street and Aylesboro avenues, he was part of an eastward movement of Pittsburgh Jews from the Hill District, Allegheny City and the downtown Market Street commercial district. The movement had started two decades earlier with the introduction of streetcars serving the neighborhoods of Oakland, East Liberty, and Squirrel Hill. The synagogues moved to be with their congregations: in 1904 Rodef Shalom (a Reform congregation) relocated from downtown to its present site on Fifth Avenue. A year later Tree of Life Congregation (a Conservative

congregation) moved from downtown to Craft Avenue in Oakland. Beth Shalom (a conservative congregation) was established in Squirrel Hill in 1919, Poale Zedeck (an Orthodox community) was formed in 1929.

Although the population of Pittsburgh's downtown wards increased from 42,700 to 55,282 between 1870 and 1890, the eastern-most wards grew from 29,998 to 103,091. With the trolleys, travel time from the East End to downtown was reduced from 100 minutes to 32. When Pittsburgh Traction added a two-mile electrified feeder line up through Squirrel Hill in 1893, the company added 500-800 riders per day to their Fifth Avenue cable-car line. The trolley travelled through Schenley Park, up the ravine on the south side of Forbes Avenue to Murray Avenue. At the same time the Panther Hollow Bridge was finished and an acre of ground in Squirrel Hill rose in value from $500 to $5,000 in less than one year. Murray Avenue was unpaved, with wooden boards serving as car tracks, going south from Forbes all the way to Brown's Hill Road.

The streetcars made it possible for those who did not own horses, carriages and carts to live at a greater distance from the downtown center. This option had long been open to the wealthy industrialists and merchants of Pittsburgh who had settled in Shadyside and Point Breeze in the 1880s and 1890s. These people, including industrialists Henry Clay Frick, George Westinghouse, Andrew Carnegie and William Thaw, society doctor James McClelland, several households of Mellons and others, built their lavish residences along the corridors of Fifth and Penn avenues. The lack of good road access contributed to the relative isolation of Squirrel Hill and kept it undeveloped until several decades after the northern neighborhoods had been suburbanized.

The Squirrel Hill Development Company was established in 1890, and in 1903 Frederick Lay Olmsted, Jr., rebuilt Beechwood Boulevard--two additional, significant factors in the opening up of Squirrel Hill to new residents.

Before this time, the area had remained a district of large estates with abundant game still being hunted as it had been since the area's days as an Indian hunting ground. Peebles, the original village established in 1833, fronted south on the Monongahela River, toward Homestead, near where

Beechwood Boulevard and Brown's Hill Road now intersect. This political unit lasted until 1868 when it was annexed to the city. The eighteen homes in the isolated pocket of Duck Hollow are all that is left of the first commercial center in what is now Squirrel Hill.

With the trolley system and better roads came a rush of development. Hundreds of large homes were built for the area's burgeoning middle management class. "Millionaire Row" crept up Beechwood Boulevard, Shady Avenue and Negley Hill. Photos in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh's Pennsylvania Room collection, most dated 1908, document the paving of roads, from Forward Avenue north to Reynolds Street, along Forbes and Murray avenues. Fire station #34 on Northumberland Street and Asbury Place which was rebuilt in 1926 was originally built in 1906, an indication of the increased population density in the area.

A second surge of development took place between 1922 and 1927 when the Boulevard of the Allies was constructed, linking Squirrel Hill directly to the "Golden Triangle," downtown Pittsburgh. Central and South Squirrel Hill were developed at this time, and new houses were built in empty lots and cut-up estates in the northern-most sections. The cross-streets of Bartlett Street and Darlington Avenue were put in along with block after block of row-houses for middle- and working-class residents moving in from The Hill and Oakland. Most of the available land was developed by 1930.

Since that time, new construction has taken place on large lots in between stately mansions, or on old estate lands put up for development. Aylesboro Avenue, eastward from Wightman, has three huge turn-of-the-century mansions in a row suddenly cut off by a private drive. There, five houses built in the 1960s and 1970s cluster along an alley cutting north into the block, probably on the site of an old estate. On Solway Street between Murray and Shady avenues, most of the houses on the north side of the street were built circa 1960. One of these small, brick homes has two magnificent and oversized gateposts on either side of the driveway, relics of the gate to a private drive that had once served the estate formerly located there. A third example is Kinsman Road, behind Linden Elementary School and off Wilkins Avenue, where elegant brick columns topped with 19th century gas lighting fixtures, hinting at a more luxurious past, mark both the entrance and exit to this block-long street, which is now lined

with modest houses constructed in the 1920s and 1930s.

The early residents in the area north of Forbes were monied folks, either of Scotch-Irish or German-Jewish descent. Southern Squirrel Hill was settled by a mix of middle- and working-class Jews from Eastern Europe, Roman Catholics from Ireland and Italy, and assorted "Americans," that is, working-class Scotch-Irish, Germans and English. Unlike other neighborhoods such as The Hill, Homewood or East Liberty, the original residents of Squirrel Hill did not leave to be replaced by new waves of immigrants or African-Americans. The area has maintained its upscale image in the area north of Forbes and the Jewish community has become entrenched throughout, providing a stable and thriving religious and ethnic neighborhood.

The Jewish community in Squirrel Hill acted like a magnet, attracting more Jews to the area. Ruth Parensky left Turtle Creek for Squirrel Hill in 1941--by then the Jewish community in the Turtle Creek Valley had dwindled:

> So many people ... also moved. ... (I moved to) Squirrel Hill,... Douglas Street." ...Our store was taken over by my sister and brother-in-law. My mother's motivation for moving was to really get into a Jewish community. I was 16 and my younger sister was 12. And she didn't want to take any chances on any of us getting involved with anybody who wasn't Jewish... ... romantically.

The increased use of automobiles facilitated Jewish families' moves to Squirrel Hill while they maintained businesses in the mill towns.

For some, moving into the neighborhood was due less to whom they knew than to the community's reputation. "[Squirrel Hill] is a place I felt safe," said Satwant Mehta, "I called the police and said, 'How about Shadyside? How about Oakland? How about Squirrel Hill?' And they said, 'Squirrel Hill.' Okay."

New immigrant Genny Davud-Zade came to Pittsburgh from Azerbaijan in 1990 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. "The first time Jewish Federation helped me make rent in Squirrel Hill and I stayed here. I very like this area."

The 1990 census shows 13.6% of all Squirrel Hill residents to be foreign-born, almost 20% in

Census Tract 1408 (east of Murray Avenue, south of Forbes and including Frick park). Three point two percent of Squirrel Hill's foreign-born entered the country from 1987 to 1990. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union there has been a great influx of immigrants from the new republics of Eastern Europe and Asia. Reva Horn from the Jewish Family and Children Services estimates that they assist 200 immigrants to settle in Squirrel Hill each year.

7.B. Settlement patterns -Greenfield

Father Joseph Reschick had one short answer when asked what brought people to settle in Greenfield, "The mills that were at the bottom of Greenfield Avenue." Greenfield has been a blue-collar residential community since development started in the latter half of the 19th century. Millworkers settled in south Oakland, Lower Greenfield and Upper Greenfield, within walking distance from the mills along the river's edge. Although Jones & Laughlin did not start producing steel there until after 1900, there were already numerous plants along the river.

In 1889, the Second Avenue Passenger Railway Company came under new ownership and the line was extended eastward past Greenfield to Glenwood, now absorbed into the Pittsburgh neighborhood of Hazelwood. Downtown Pittsburgh became readily accessible from the line on Second Avenue (then Irvine Street) at the bottom of Greenfield Avenue. Lower Greenfield, or The Run, was right on the trolley line. In 1891, the Second Avenue line was extended past Glenwood across the Monongahela River to Homestead.

The Irish were predominant in Greenfield; St. Rosalia's parish was established in the early 1900s, according to Father Reschick:

> It came to be in the early 1900s. It was a group of men who were one day discussing out here on Greenfield Avenue that they should have a church. They were looking at this property... St. Rosalia's has gone through some changes, a lot of it dealt with the fact of the mill being opened. Where we are sitting right now there was a lyceum, which was a gymnasium and a bowling alley for the parish.
>
> The mills played a very big role in the life of Greenfield and in the life of this parish. ... When the bishop was here... he told me that the mass schedule revolved around the mill

> schedule, when the men had to be at work or when they were coming out of work. We change the mass schedule for holy days. There was a 5:40. That had something to do with the bus schedule and something to do with the streetcar, when there were streetcars. Had something to do with people's working schedule with the mill.

8. Meeting Places, Activities & Families

Social life in both Squirrel Hill and Greenfield, apart from the student/university communities, is very much family-based. Most of the informants find both areas to be stable communities. According to Father Reschick, in Greenfield: "Everybody knows each other. A lot of people who grew up here never left here. Once they got married they wanted to stay here." The same goes for Squirrel Hill, according to Judith Ross: "Pittsburgh is a very stable community in general, I don't think that's particular to the Jewish community. So people are here for life, or if they move away, they come back."

Bill Smith works with the Greenfield Organization and finds that people identify themselves with Greenfield even after they move away:

> There's a cohesive belief in the community, the fact that people have grown up with the same people around them all the time. The pride feeds into that.... We do a monthly newsletter from the organization, people may move out of state, they may move to the West Coast, but they have relatives still living here and they ask us to mail the newspaper out to them. These people write us letters that they're so happy to still stay in touch with things back here. Even if you do leave, you still feel part of what's going on.

Although both communities are primarily residential, with residents earning their livelihoods outside of the immediate neighborhoods, the business districts are active. On Forbes and Murray avenues in Squirrel Hill there are numerous shops, specializing in locks, antiques, books, bicycles, toys, television repairs, Judaica, Asian and kosher foods, video rentals, jewelry, clothing of all sorts, flowers, hardware, health foods, music, coffee, sweets, shoes, etc. The major banks are all represented and two university medical centers have opened offices in this area, as have a number of other professionals--medical, accounting, real estate, and legal.

There are three oriental restaurants in Squirrel Hill and two in Greenfield. The Silk Pagoda in the new mini-mall by the Greenfield entrance to the Parkway has a pleasant interior more than making

up for the rather strip-mall exterior. Suzie's, near the corner of Shady and Forbes avenues, features a popular Greek menu; Sweet Basil's serves an eclectic menu of pastas, meats and salads. Moscow Nights serves Russian food. There are a number of eateries catering to the Jewish community. Restaurateur Ron DeLallo is still cooking and serving up his Italian and German specialties at the Squirrel Hill Cafe, but he remembers better times:

> It's changed a lot. We were a bustling town at the time... The street cars used to run on Forbes Avenue... They quit running back in the early '60s, but they left the island out here. Just by who got on or who got off the bus, 'Okay, it's 8 o'clock in the morning,' or 'It's 9 o'clock.'... Anything heading due east out of the city of Pittsburgh hits this corner. This is one of the hottest corners in the whole town of Pittsburgh for 24 hours a day.

Brad Perelman, also a Squirrel Hill businessman, has a slightly different spin on the evolution of the district:

> The business district has changed a lot over the years. It used to be all independent businessmen. There used to be, I guess, a dozen butchershops up and down this street, 25-30 years ago. And Forbes Street used to be mainly independent businessmen. Now, as everywhere, chains have moved in, eliminated certain kinds of classes of businesses, and so the landscape changes. But there's still a very strong independent business community here.

The Jewish community, discussed in greater length below, dominates the local institutions in Squirrel Hill, even more so now that St. Philomena's Roman Catholic Church was closed. Closing down that parish has angered many, including M.M. Castner, former president of the Women's Club at St. Philomena's.

> I was the co-chair of the group up at St. Phil's to do this reorganization/revitalization which every parish had to do. ... There were a group of us that had worked on this thing from all over the diocese who met and we were each assigned a number of these reports to read. So I'm not totally against closing parishes. I voted to close some of them. If you have 50 people and you have 1 mass a week, you can't support a parish! But this is the only Catholic church in Squirrel Hill. It is almost impossible for any of us to get to church unless we drive, now that it's closed.

The 1,500 members of St. Philomena's were assigned to either St. Bede's in Point Breeze or St.

Rosalia's in Greenfield after the closure. As with other reorganization plans throughout the Pittsburgh Catholic Diocese, the new or regrouped parishes are now assigned geographically. A number of the St. Philomena's parishioners assigned to St. Rosalia's have yet to join. Father Reschick believes that most will eventually come around:

> In time, [the parishioners] will have to settle somewhere. And they'll settle when they need something. To be baptized, funeral, a marriage. I know that, because that's beginning to happen now. People need a sponsor form that says that they are registered in the parish and that they are a practicing Catholic. They need that from a parish if they're going to be a godfather or a godmother for a baptism or a sponsor for a confirmation. When they need something, they are filtering in. There are some who I understand have joined the Cathedral. The former mayor's wife, Jeannie Caliguiri joined the Cathedral... We had inserted prayers in a particular part of the mass, our Sunday services, to pray for those people, calling to mind the hurt that they must feel with their parish going to be closing. They closed in the end of June and the last Sunday in July we had a welcoming. We included different people from there who had joined here in the mass. ... It was the entire weekend. A chalice that the people had given to St. Philomena's, we had it down here. A chalice was brought down in procession. All of the sacramental records, St. Bede is housing those, but we borrowed a baptismal, a marriage and a death record that day. ... After every mass we had juice and cookies and doughnuts out in front of the church out on the avenue. Then we had tables set up where people could automatically sign up to be in the choir, or a lector, or a CCD teacher, parish council.

The Wightman Community Center is in a century-old school building, once Squirrel Hill's Wightman Elementary School. The building is now owned by Carriage House Child Center which uses the basement and first floor for its popular daycare program. Offices, the gym and meeting rooms are rented out to a variety of community groups, such as the Squirrel Hill Coalition. Activities which take place in the building include exercise classes, birthing classes, chess tournaments and voting in local elections.

There is a shoe-repair shop on the southern end of Murray Avenue, in the Greenfield shopping district centered around the Giant Eagle grocery store. Also in that area is an optometrist, a chiropractor, a dentist, a branch of PNC bank. Up the street at the corner of Hazelwood Avenue is a childcare center, another chiropractor's office and a liquor store. The beer distributor which was located on Murray Avenue across from the Giant Eagle recently closed its doors, apparently in

response to the discount beer distributor which recently opened up nearby, off Brown's Hill Road before the bridge to Homestead.

Most commercial activity in Greenfield centers around the large Giant Eagle grocery store in Upper Greenfield. The "Eagle" (also known as "the Big Bird") is a place where locals leave notices about items for sale, or services offered. Children sell candy to finance their schools, and various charities have people posted at the door, soliciting donations.

Community life in Lower Greenfield centers around St. Rosalia's Catholic Church and elementary school. Father Reschick has revived the church committee structure since he was made pastor two years ago. The membership activity has grown tremendously and he finds his time is in great demand as a result:

> With the second Vatican Council in the '60s there was an emphasis on the role of the laity. Now, because of a decline in the people becoming priests, that vision of the second Vatican Council and the role of the laity is now coming into full force... With this place blossoming and more activity taking place here, Father can't be everywhere.

Across the street from St. Rosalia's are the offices of the Greenfield Organization. It was incorporated in 1970 and receives most of its financial support from the United Way (a source that was just cut back in 1994). Bill Smith, Executive Director, has gotten the organization involved in a wide range of community activities:

> The organization currently provides a wide range of programs and services to a very broad age group ... Informal education, recreational programming for youth, social adjustments such as food drives and assistance programs for the elderly, the handicapped and low-income... We're involved in some community development... we've been funded to do a Section 202 senior citizen housing facility in the community and we are currently going through the governmental process of getting approvals and so forth... We are part of the Greenfield Athletic Association and we are currently the scheduler of Magee Recreation Center gym facility. We're probably moving towards the point in time where we will also be doing the field."

9. Case study of traditional cultural life: The Run

Traditional cultural life in The Run, with its three distinct immigrant groups, is oriented around the

two main religious congregations, St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Rite Catholic Church and St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church. Father Reschick can tell a parishioner's ethnic background from the contents of his or her Easter baskets:

> The custom that we have within the Catholic church of blessing the Easter food... when they're lined up, you can tell people that are not really brought up with it and the people who were brought up with it and it's a tradition. ... Some people will have a regular tablecloth in there with a napkin. Some people will have napkin that has some things embroidered on it. That would show an ethnic, Eastern European-type background... In the basket you're to have ham, kolbassi, horseradish, wine, bread, butter, eggs. ... Another indicator of somebody that's really steeped in the tradition... somebody who would have made an egg like that [shows traditional 'pysanky' given to him by a parishioner]... There's a couple of guys in the parish that know how to do that... One is Gary Sipko. He's very much steeped in the Slovak tradition. He lives in The Run and his parents, grandparents live down there. Gary's in his late 20s, probably. He's involved with the Pittsburgh Slovak Organization... There really isn't an Italian basket, it's either Eastern European or nothing..."

Easter is a big holiday with the Byzantine Catholics, too, as is Christmas, according to Michael Roman:

> "We celebrated Christmas... according to the Julian calendar, which means 13 days later. We would decorate our Christmas trees. That Saline Street was a sight to behold because almost every home from Schenley Park to the trestle there would be Christmas trees all lit up. That meant that even the Slovaks, they had theirs early on the 25th, but they kept those trees up, too... Christmas for the Byzantine Catholics... is a 3-day celebration... The church choir with the cantor would sing Christmas carols, then they had a representation of the birth of Christ using a little church, going from house to house wishing Christmas tidings. Sometimes the trustees of the church... would also go. They really celebrated it.

St. John Chrysostom Church maintained the social fabric of the community:

> At that time the services were in Church Slavonic, a close resemblance to the Russian language... Then they would have the blessing of the water on Epiphany. That's when the priest would visit his parishioners and bless the homes. They kept the church people together by having these theatrical entertainments... would bring memories of the Old Country. One play that I recall was called 'Uike os Amerike,' [Uncle from America]. The uncle comes back to visit the homeland... 'Selska svad'ba' means the Village Wedding [re-enactments of old country wedding] and that provided entertainment. The church choir would hold concerts. Keep the people together. They would hold these plays... and concerts at least once a year. The cantor would have an examination of what the children had learned during the year. They called it a church school. There

> they learned something about the Catechism with the help of the priest and the cantor and they also learned to read...

Many Pittsburghers know of The Run only as the place where Big Jim's Restaurant is located. This popular eatery has a long bar with a television at either end and an adjoining family dining area. Their menu is strong with traditional Italian-American fare (pizza, wedding soup, pastas) but they also carry deli-style favorites such as reuben and corned beef sandwiches. The restaurant was originally called Kranik Tavern. It was owned by the Kranik family and specialized in Carpatho-Rusin foods, catering to the mill workers. It was purchased by an Italian family and renamed Big Jim's. "Jim" is dead now and the new owners are two lawyers from outside of the area who are keeping the same menu and loyal clientele of the previous owners.

The evolution of Big Jim's from Carpatho-Rusin to Italian to unknown ethnicity seems to mirror the area's transformation. Many of the residents are elderly, housing stock is deteriorating and property values are low. The building of the Parkway East in 1951 cut a wide path through the community, eliminating 300-400 houses and precipitating an exodus from the area. One of the proposed pathways for the Mon Valley Expressway would connect to the Parkway in or near The Run, further endangering its future as a community. Cultural identity is in precipitous decline; by the turn of the century when the older generation passes, traditional life will have become, for the most part, a faint memory.

> Time is changing life in The Run, according to Michael Roman:
> Somehow, as they became more Americanized, some of those things have fallen by the wayside. I haven't seen a theatrical presentation in years... Some moved from The Run when they started building the Parkway [in 1950-51] when they started taking homes... That caused people to leave...

10. Case Study of Traditional Cultural Life--Squirrel Hill's Jewish Community

On Sunday, December 4, 1994, the Tree of Life Synagogue dedicated a new Torah. Although members of the congregation had donated several family-owned Torahs to the temple over the years, the new Torah is the first one commissioned by Tree of Life congregation in its 130-year history. The Torah was carried under a "chupa," or canopy, up Solway Street and along Shady Avenue to the

synagogue where the dedication ceremony took place. Torah dedications are rare events because commissioning one is an expensive undertaking. Tree of Life Synagogue successfully raised the necessary funds from their 750-member congregation and will apply any leftover monies to the building of their new education building.

The June 9, 1993, issue of The Squirrel Hill Gazette reported a million dollar bequest from the estate of Adele and Maurice Weiner to the Pittsburgh Council of NA'AMAT USA to be administered by the United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh. The first project to be funded from this bequest is a "state-of-the-art day care center" in Jerusalem at Pisgat Zeev. The Pittsburgh Council has sponsored five other Pittsburgh installations in Israel: Ness Ziona Day Care Center, Ann Sigesmund Community Center in Raanana, Nazareth Illit Day Care Center, Alex and Leona Robinson Community Center in Pardess Chana, and the Gloria Elbling Women's Center in Herzlia.

The September 2, 1993, issue of The Jewish Chronicle reports the founding of two new organizations: the Jewish Association of Aging (JAA) and "Renaissance." The JAA, headed up by Joel Smalley, was established to develop a comprehensive system of services for older persons. This group acquired the former St. Philomena's Catholic Parish with the intent of building a senior high-rise on the site.[8] "Renaissance," is a joint fundraising effort of several Jewish organizations, coordinated by the United Jewish Federation, to increase the breadth and quality of services available to the Jewish community. The project includes the expansion of the Jewish Community Organization (JCO), the JAA senior services and expansion of Jewish education.

At the end of June, 1993, the Jewish Residential Services, Inc. (JRS) opened the Leonard Staisey House in Squirrel Hill. The apartment building has four separate, two-bedroom apartments which house eight residents who have a history of persistent mental illness. The mission of JRS is to provide housing and support services for people who need assistance in their everyday lives because of psychiatric, developmental or physical disabilities, and to provide a link to the Jewish community

[8]Neighborhood protest against this plan forced the JAA to seek an alternate location.

through the celebration of Shabbat and holidays. JRS Executive Director Deborah Friedman Dizard was pleased that Squirrel Hill was chosen as the site for their first residential project:

> Squirrel Hill is so dynamic -- not just with the Jewish community, but it also has a library, banks, buses. I think it's important that many of the people we serve grew up in this community. They've been involved but have been disassociated from it as a result of their illness. Our residents, across the board, are excited about reconnecting partly with their Jewish culture and partly with the physical area, where they're familiar with things.[9]

The dedication of the Torah at Tree of Life Synagogue, the Israeli day-care project of the Pittsburgh Council of NA'AMAT USA, the establishment of the "Renaissance" project and the Jewish Association of Aging, and opening of the Leonard Staisey House are all examples of the high level of activity within Squirrel Hill's Jewish community. They are also examples of the diverse activities and organizations that exist. The Jewish community cannot be described as a single, goal-directed, homogeneous group, nor simply as either an ethnic or a religious community. There are many synagogues, competing congregations, a wide variety of Jewish social services, several religious schools, a variety of Jewish stores and restaurants and the Jewish Community Center, all of which combine to make up **the community**. The community, with its heart firmly placed in Squirrel Hill, is unified geographically, not if philosophically.

Four different viewpoints are found in Pittsburgh's Jewish community: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist. Squirrel Hill's Poale Zedeck, Shaare Torah, the Lubavitcher Center and Greenfield's B'nai Emunoh Temple are the principle centers for worship for Orthodox Jews in this area. The Conservative community centers around Beth Shalom and Tree of Life synagogues. Rodef Shalom represents the historic center for the Reform movement, along with its offshoot, Temple Sinai. The Reconstructionist is the smallest and the newest group to emerge as an organized religious group within Judaism and is represented in Squirrel Hill by small congregations, such as Dor Hadash, which do

[9]quote from Iris M. Samson's article, "JRS provides caring, helpful household," The Jewish Chronicle of Pittsburgh, Thursday, August 19, 1993, Elul 2, 5753, page 13

not own their own buildings and rent space for their meetings.

Doris Dyen[10] suggests that there are two main issues facing Pittsburgh's Jews today; interaction between different viewpoints or branches of organized Judaism and the large number of unaffiliated Jews in the community. On Sunday, January 8, 1995, the first meeting of The Synagogue Council of Pittsburgh was held at Temple Sinai.[11] At this meeting, representatives of the various viewpoints discussed how to bridge the communication gaps between the various religious organizations and how to reach out to the unaffiliated within the wider Jewish community.

In spite of the divisions, there is a feeling, being Jewish in Squirrel Hill, that you are a part of a "family." Within the family, everybody fights, yet the various groups unite against outside criticism. As Dee Davis puts it, "The humor is what [gets you] through difficult times... they're not as appreciative if it comes from without, ... but it's okay in the family."

Dr. Gerry Palkowitz tells this joke, "If there's two Jews, there's always three synagogues, the ones that they both go to and the one that nobody goes to. A lot of politics to the synagogue." She acknowledges that within the "family" there are antagonisms:

> Each group feels that they have the right way. Sometimes it just comes out that one group is looking down their nose at another group because of the way they practice the religion. Neither is right, but everybody thinks they are right... Sometimes people like to play the role, 'I'm more religious than you are' and sometimes people like to play down. They say that being religious and being traditional is very narrow minded, so that's a negative. Sometimes when there should be unity in the community, there isn't. It's such a small group and there's so many opinions on how things need to be done... It's 'you better have my opinion.' Unfortunately, there is a lot of that.

Dee Davis also talked about internal conflict within the Jewish community, but links this conflict to a sense of community responsibility:

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[10]Director of the ethnographic survey project of the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation and President of Congregation Dor Hadash in Squirrel Hill. Notes from my conversation with her are included in the interviews file accompanying this study.

[11]Doris Dyen attended this meeting and provided me with the information I have on it.

> The German Jewish people had more culture... [they were] much more educated, ... than the Jewish people who came out of Poland... I think they were here earlier and were a little embarrassed by the lack of culture from people coming out of Europe who didn't have the background they had... Jewish or not Jewish, we naturally pick people who are culturally more in tune with us. The Jewish people felt very insecure in this country. ... As Jews, we took responsibility for every unpleasant act performed by a Jewish person... When Jewish people do well, 'ah, look,' and if someone did something horrendous...

Judith Ross moved to Pittsburgh from a city with a much smaller Jewish community. She is enthusiastic about the diversity here:

> I made the assumption myself that if someone went to an orthodox synagogue they didn't walk around in t-shirt and shorts, and then I would meet people on a shabbat and I'd see them and there they would be. That was just naiveté on my part, having, for the first time, been a part of a larger orthodox community. And it really is all over the place, from modern orthodox, where individuals may or may not go to the synagogue regularly, may or may not eat out in a non-kosher restaurant to the Lubavitch group which is ultra-orthodox at the other end of the spectrum. But even within that group there's a lot of variation.

One of the challenges in doing ethnographic research is to get a sense of the internal dynamics of a community. Judith Ross suggests that some things are off-limits for outsiders, "You really don't see that unless it's more or less from the inside and you get to know people on an individual level." She elaborates, by explaining the difficulty of living a traditional Orthodox lifestyle in modern-day America:

> It really is a very, almost closed community. Because the traditional Jewish lifestyle is so all encompassing, on a daily basis. From what you put in your mouth to what prayer you say before you go to the bathroom or when you get up in the morning and when you go to bed. In terms of your daily time schedule, there's not a lot of room to participate in the secular world that much.
> The Jews that have 'one foot in each world' --secular and religious... These individuals are highly unusual. But there are others who are doctors, lawyers, what have you, but who lead a fully observant lifestyle. But... most of the time those people end up being in business for themselves because it's extremely difficult to work that out in the secular world. It does not lend itself to full participation. Particularly for the children, they feel very strongly that they want them to marry within the religion, ... they close off some of the influences from the outside world, be it television or even reading materials. It is really an all-encompassing lifestyle.

The lifestyle of the strict Orthodox is one that keeps strictly to the Jewish laws as defined in the Torah thousands of years ago. A name given to this lifestyle is "Shomer Shabboz"--"Keep the Sabbath"--but those who follow it don't just observe the Sabbath. They maintain a religious lifestyle at all times. The Jewish laws define all aspects of life, including clothing styles, food preparation, daily and weekly worship practices, community activities, personal hygiene, and school studies.

For Orthodox Jews, Squirrel Hill and Greenfield are set aside, symbolically, as a safe community to live in by virtue of the "eruv" which surrounds the area. The "eruv" is a symbolic wall around a designated area where it is safe to live and worship. As Gerry Palkowitz puts it, "The purpose of an eruv is to make a ... private domain into a public domain. So that people can carry on the Sabbath according to the laws of the Torah." In Pittsburgh, the eruv area is designated by an unbroken wire which surrounds the area, hung from telephone poles and indistinguishable to the untrained eye from power and phone lines. The Orthodox community designates a rabbi who checks the eruv for breaks every Friday before sunset. The eruv committee maintains a telephone hotline for Orthodox Jews to call in and check before setting out on their way to Sabbath dinner and worship.

For the Orthodox, it is very desirable to live within an area designated by the "eruv." Brad Perelman explained:

> There's a law that says that if you surround a city by a wall, and the wall is defined in a certain way, then you are permitted to carry certain things on the Sabbath...Like a prayer book. ... That's a major proscription, you're not allowed to carry anything on the Sabbath [or be transported by vehicle] or cook, or turn on a light, or do a whole host of things... So this permits people, for example, to carry a child on Sabbath. Push a stroller, carry a book. ... I don't go out of my way to use it, but if I have to, if we're taking kids to the Schule, I'll use the stroller. ... It has most to do with how you handle children. If you're within the eruv it permits you a little greater freedom as to what you can do with your children and this is really the main benefit of it.

Maintenance of the "eruv" is the responsibility of the "eruv" committee. The committee is made up of representatives from the Orthodox congregations in the area. Their central task is to raise funds to pay for the weekly task of checking and maintaining the eruv. Gerry Palkowitz is the representative from Poale Zedeck Synagogue and President of the "eruv" committee:

> It's a community project so any of the orthodox synagogues are involved with it. So that would be Poale Zedeck, Shaare Torah, Young Israel, the Russian Schuul. ... It is wires that are connected to the telephone poles. That's what we use. They have to be connected, so every week the whole circumference of the eruv has to be checked to make sure that everything is in order. Our eruv in Pittsburgh is a pretty large one... It goes all the way to Schenley Park... The Jewish home for the Aged is included,.. It goes to Wilkins Avenue... The purpose of the committee is... to ask for donations every year because it's very expensive, the upkeep. People don't realize. We have to constantly trim the trees around the eruv. Every week when it's inspected, the person who's inspecting it has an electrician on call, in case there's something wrong, he calls the electrician. In eight years we have never had a Shabbat, a Saturday, that it isn't operative. We have a good record with it. ... It's not electrified, it's just wires... [The electrician] is the one who climbs up the telephone poles to do the repairs. ... We hire, more or less, the people in the kollel... The kollel is a group of men, married men, it's kind of like a post-graduate study of Torah and Jewish studies. ... They have to have 10 men and their lives are devoted to study and we hire them to be our inspectors. I think you had Rabbi Yeager's name... He's the executive in charge of defining who checks the eruv for us. We pay them and once every few years we have to call in the eruv expert in the country, from Lakewood New Jersey. He comes in and makes sure that everything is according to the law....

Even the "eruv" is controversial within the Pittsburgh Jewish community. Gerry Palkowitz explained:

> We try to keep a low key because when we initiated it 8 years ago, we were real excited about it and we put publicity in the [Jewish] Chronicle and there was some in the Press at that time. We got such flack. People were so upset about it. Even in the Jewish community. Because they saw it, people who don't understand what it is, said that it was return to the ghetto. It's what was in Europe. It has nothing to do with that. Then the power companies contacted us and they said if there's any more negative publicity, they weren't going to let us use their poles...

Education is of great concern within the Jewish community, as elsewhere. Most Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist synagogues have afternoon and weekend religious education for their children. There are also several full-day schools. Brad Perelman describes the full-day institutions in Squirrel Hill:

> The children are going through a very defined educational structure, Hebrew Day School. That has two tracks, has an English track for secular studies and a Hebrew track for Jewish studies... It's a private school... There are three day schools, there is

> the Yeshiva at Hobart and Wightman. There's the Hillel Academy and there's Community Day School [CDS]... Yeshiva and Hillel go through high school and CDS goes through the 8th grade. The Yeshiva and Hillel service more the Orthodox community and CDS services more the Conservative and Reform communities... In the Hebrew track there's bible studies, Torah, fluency in Hebrew reading and writing and comprehension. Talmudic studies are a very important part of this. Prophets, Jewish history, Jewish law, Jewish customs and just a general socialization process of transmitting a tradition from an older generation to a younger generation. This is what the job is.

Most non-Jews are not aware of the wide-ranging proscriptions of the Jewish laws, but many have heard of "kosher" food and "keeping kosher." The strict rules governing preparation of food are called the laws of "kashrut." Brad Perelman explained:

> Any time that there is food involved, in terms of ingredients, as well as cooking procedures, the laws of kashrut come into play. What you can mix together, how it can be cooked, what are the ingredients, so things are under supervision. What certifies a food kosher is that they're under supervision... Every kind of food has its own particular parameters.

Since food is often shared between people and groups of people in social situations, the issue of what is kosher is important in social situations in Squirrel Hill. There are different definitions of kosher within the Jewish community, as Brad Perelman explained:

> There are all kinds of parameters that define kosher, whether meat, or chicken or cheese, there's a whole body of law that defines what makes a food kosher... In the Orthodox community they're adjusted to certain parameters of technology and changing situations. ... Conservative have made it less stringent, and the Reform don't really hold by it. ... It's part of being an observant Jew -- to follow the Jewish dietary laws. We don't mix milk and meat. We slaughter our animals according to a particular fashion that's extremely humane. And we have certain inspection of the animals to determine whether they have any disease...

Ruth Fauman-Fichman[12] moved to a new street in 1993 and, wanting to get to know her neighbors better, tried to organize a block party in the summer of 1994. What she found was that,

[12]Ruth Fauman-Fichman is a friend of mine who attends the Conservative Beth Shalom Synagogue and recently moved to Solway Street in the "North of Forbes" section of Squirrel Hill. This story was recounted to me in the fall of 1994 and was not recorded.

although most of her neighbors, including herself, were Jewish, they were from different congregations and had very different ideas of what would be considered kosher food. Some were "Shomer Shabbos," others shopped at the secular stores and followed a modified kosher diet, while others had their own personal diets and habits. Overwhelmed by the prospect of having to organize "Shomer Shabbos," modified kosher and all other foods on separate tables, Ruth abandoned the idea of the block party.

Sometimes family members celebrate their heritage differently and this can be a strain for those involved. One informant[13] is prohibited from serving food to her own grandchildren in her home. Her stepdaughter married an Orthodox man and they have become more involved with the Lubavitcher Center over recent years. "I can't stand it," my informant told me, "It wasn't so bad until she started covering her hair and wearing those thick cotton stockings. It's just awful."

There are a number of "Shomer Shabbos" kosher food stores and businesses, according to Brad Perelman:

> We have two here in the city, KosherMart and Prime Kosher... they are kosher supermarkets, basically, small markets, they have full service kosher food, they have kosher meat, kosher chicken, delicatessen and food products that usually are not found in the regular supermarkets...

The Jewish community is one steeped in tradition. Traditional foods, songs, baths, books, prayers and much more. There are also long-standing controversies, such as what is kosher, and who is observing the Jewish lifestyle properly. Overall, the Jewish community in Squirrel Hill is thriving. The traditions are being maintained, along with the controversies. The JCC has a branch in the South Hills now, reflecting the move of Jews out of the city to the suburbs. The Jewish community of Fox Chapel is also growing. These satellite communities are made up of Reform and Conservative congregations. The Orthodox are concentrating more and more into the Squirrel Hill area, partly because of the "eruv,"

[13]This story was told to me by a prominent member of the Conservative community who asked that I keep her identity confidential.

but also due to the concentration of schools and synagogues in the area. Gerry Palkowitz sees this trend continuing:

> If it keeps going in the direction that its going, Squirrel Hill is going to become a very Orthodox community. And the Conservative and Reformed Jews are not going to be too visible... I imagine it would [affect the JCO] because they don't have a lot of Orthodox participation. There is some, but that's not where they get their main thrust from... I think [the JCC] is basically Conservative and Reformed, with a little Orthodox participation...

The Jewish Community Center has 14,000 members and is building an addition to its complex between Forbes Avenue and Darlington Street. The new building will house the Jewish Educational Institute and the Jewish Family and Children Services as well as other services. Dee Davis describes the purpose of the Jewish Community Center:

> The JCC, obviously, is a gathering place... When you have a community... of 45,000 Jewish people, to have 14,000, that's a large percentage. To say nothing of the non-members who gather here for holiday events, plays, book fair, events that are sponsored.

Social support services, such as the Jewish Family and Children Services and the Anathan House Senior Center, often developed first in the Jewish community in Pittsburgh and served as models for parallel services developed by Allegheny County to provide for the secular community in the region.

Dee Davis supports investment in Jewish institutions in Squirrel Hill. She thinks that the investment helps keep people here. To Dee Davis, the worst thing that could happen to the community would be for it to abandon the centralized core it has in Squirrel Hill:

> [My greatest fear is] that the Jewish community would move out and there would be no Jewish community as such. I think that a lot of the culture would be diluted because since it is, there are Jewish institutions here and it's much easier to be Jewish here. Much more comfortable. If you move out into the suburbs, you lose that. And the intermarriage would be greater. Obviously, it's much harder to marry within your religion if you're not meeting people who are the same religion.

The concern about intermarriage cuts across all the divisions within the Jewish community and is one of the priorities addressed by the Synagogue Council of Pittsburgh. The concern is greatest among the Orthodox who see it, according to Doris Dyen, as "diluting Jewish identity." Reform and Reconstructionist Jews are more likely to accept intermarriage and mixed couples, but are still concerned about the effect that intermarriage has on synagogue affiliation. The Synagogue Council of Pittsburgh is looking at the various barriers to full participation and affiliation within Pittsburgh's religious community, including congregation dues[14] and synagogue rules of affiliation which sometimes bar families with non-Jewish members.

11. Recommendations for interpretive public programming and follow-up studies

There is a quaint feeling in Lower Greenfield, with its beautiful Byzantine Catholic Church, the popular Big Jim's Restaurant, and wooden houses lining the streets and flowing up the hillsides. Perhaps The Run could be developed as an historic mill town site for tourists to visit, have lunch, go to St. John Chrysostom Church and see one of the Carpatho-Rusin plays that Michael Roman talks about. At the least, these plays should be collected to ensure that they not be lost.

The long stairways going to Oakland and Upper Greenfield should be preserved and maintained. The area is ideal for urban living with a rural feeling. It is nestled in the valley south of Schenley Park and only a few miles from the business districts both Oakland and Squirrel Hill.

The history of St. Rosalia's Church needs to be better documented. Oral histories should be done to get more detail of the stories of the Irish, the Germans, and the Italians. A Greenfield Historical Society or committee could be set up to collect photographs and memorabilia which could be archived at the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, The Carnegie Library's Pennsylvania Room, or at the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh. The area, while stable, is becoming culturally homogeneous, not unlike every town in America. Celebration of ethnic traditions could

[14]Synagogue dues vary greatly from congregation to congregation, from a few hundred to over a thousand dollars per year, and there is usually a sliding scale with lower dues for those less able to pay. This information was given to me by Doris Dyen.

strengthen community identity and pride.

Squirrel Hill is already well-documented by its Jewish community. The growth and persistence of an urban Jewish community is rare among American cities. This phenomenon is worth exploring in greater depth and in a more public forum, perhaps as a television or film documentary.

The growth of traditional Jewish Orthodox congregations and especially of the Lubavitcher and other Hasidic groups is unusual for urban Jewish-American communities, and raises interesting questions about neighborhood stability, safety and cultural identity. Is the Orthodox tradition of walking on Friday evenings, Saturdays and on the Holy Days in any way responsible for the relative safety of the community streets? How does Jewish life in Squirrel Hill compare to Jewish life in the suburbs of Pittsburgh? Do non-Jewish Pittsburghers have a more positive or more negative perception of Jewish culture than do non-Jewish residents of Harrisburg, Johnstown, Cleveland or Toledo? Are the rates of intermarriage and assimilation of Jews into non-Jewish culture lower in Squirrel Hill than in other Jewish communities of comparable size? Can the Jewish community in Squirrel Hill serve as a model for improving urban living in other communities, both Jewish and non-Jewish?

The non-Jewish community in Squirrel Hill could be the topic of study and possible public programming. The Asian community, although dispersed throughout various Pittsburgh neighborhoods and suburban communities, is one that would benefit from a more in-depth study. Food markets and restaurants in Squirrel Hill could provide the start-off points for such an inquiry.

The settlement of new immigrants from Russia and the former Soviet Republics has concentrated in Squirrel Hill and Greenfield and would also be an interesting group to document. Oral histories should be collected soon; focused, videotaped interviews could follow. One interesting line of inquiry might be an evaluation of the re-settlement support within the Jewish community with comparison of the present immigration to past waves of Jewish immigrants.

12. Short biographies of informants

Mary Madelyn "M.M." Castner: (ES93-SD8-C & ES93-SD9-C) Lifelong resident of South Squirrel Hill, member of the former St. Philomena's Roman Catholic Parish, member of the Irish Club and volunteer docent at Clayton.

Dolores "Dee" Davis: (ES93-SD5-C) Director of Senior Adult Services at the Jewish Community Center in Squirrel Hill. Of Lithuanian Jewish heritage, originally lived in The Hill District. Member of Hadassah, B'nai B'rith & Pioneer Women.

Genny Davud-Zade: (ES93-SD7-C) A "new American" from Baku, Azerbaijan, in the former Soviet Union. Jewish heritage, now attending Congregation Dor Hadash. Owns "Bear," a small grocery store on Murray Avenue specializing in Eastern European foods. Her daughter runs the "Moscow Nights" restaurant on Murray Avenue.

Ronald "Ron" DeLallo: (ES93-SD14-C) An Italian-German bar-owner who commutes into Squirrel Hill to cook for and manage his popular Squirrel Hill Cafe, otherwise known as the "Squirrel Cage." Ron has a vested interest in the success of the business district and has seen changes over the 20 years he has worked in the neighborhood.

James Hahn, Sr.: (ES93-SD13-C) Retired salesman, German ethnic background, has lived North of Forbes in Squirrel Hill since childhood. Waged a successful fight to have trash collection at the Rehabilitation Institute moved from across the street from his house.

Hui Yuet Ming Eva: (ES93-SD1-C) New American from Hong Kong, ethnic Chinese, married to an American. Squirrel Hill resident, teacher at a private school.

Maureen McBirney: (ES93-SD6-C) North Hills resident, active in the Irish Club of Pittsburgh. Both parents natives of Ireland. Member of the Gaelic Arts Society and the Celtic Dance Academy.

Satwant Kaur Mehta: (ES93-SD12-C) Punjabi-American resident of South Squirrel Hill, active in the Pittsburgh Sikh and Indian communities.

Dr. Geraldine "Gerry" Palkovitz: (ES93-SD10-C & ES93-SD11-C) Lifelong resident of South Squirrel Hill, member of Poale Zedeck Synagogue, and president of the Eruv Committee of Pittsburgh.

Ruth Paransky: (ES93-SD3-C) Native of East Pittsburgh, move to South Squirrel Hill as a teen-ager to be closer to the Jewish community. Russian heritage, now lives in Fox Chapel.

Brad Perelman: (ES93-SD2-C) Lifelong Squirrel Hill resident, raised Conservative, now Orthodox, active with the Lubavitch Center in Squirrel Hill, owner of Pinsker's Judaica Center on Murray Avenue.

Father Joseph "Joe" Reschick: (ES93-SD16-C) Parish priest at St. Rosalia's Catholic Church in Greenfield, a unified parish which includes former parishioners from St. Joachim's Catholic Church in "the Run" and from St. Philomena's Catholic Church in Squirrel Hill.

Michael Roman: (ES93-SD17-C & ES93-SD18-C) Member of the congregation at St. John Chrysostom Byzantine Rite Church on Saline Street in "the Run" in Greenfield and former resident of "the Run," Michael was the editor of the Greek Catholic Union for 40 years.

Judith Ross: (ES93-SD15-C) Archivist at the Jewish Archives at the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and Squirrel Hill resident, Judith has an appreciation of the historical resources available to researchers on the Pittsburgh Jewish community.

Bill Smith: (ES93-SD4-C & ES93-SD5-C) Resident of Greenfield, executive director of the Greenfield Organization. German Irish heritage, studied at St. Rosalia's Grade School and Central Catholic High School.